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Social Progress



The Changing Face of Africa

Social Progress

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From This Vantage Point

THE timetable of change in Africa is fooling everyone, even the experts in our State Department.

At the end of World War II there were only four independent countries—Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Union of South Africa. In the period from 1946 to 1959, six other countries were liberated—Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia. A few months ago it was thought that during 1960 four countries would achieve self-rule—Cameroun, Togoland, Somalia, Nigeria. The number is now five with the surprise announcement that the Belgian Congo will be granted independence on June 30, and there may be seven or more by the end of the year. Progress toward self-determination in both British and French areas of influence in Africa is far more rapid than anyone would have predicted a short while ago.



We are indebted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for permission to use the statement on United States Foreign Policy in Africa (pages 5–17 of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.) This article, which represents some of the best writing we have seen on Africa, is a summary of a special report prepared by the African Studies Program of Northwestern University. Dr. Melville Herskovits, the director of the Program, is recognized as one of the foremost experts on African affairs in the United States.

A consultation on Africa, sponsored by the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, was held in New York in early February this year. The conference was called and chaired by Moderator Arthur L. Miller, of the 171st General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The principal address of the conference was made by an outstanding African leader, Sir Francis Ibiham, of Nigeria. Dr. Ibiham is widely known and honored

for his pioneering work in the field of medicine and public health in Nigeria. His remarkable address is presented on pages 18-25 in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Paul Hoffman, managing director of Special Funds of the United Nations, answers the question "What is an underdeveloped country?" in an article that appears on page 26. Mr. Hoffman is widely known as an American industrialist who in 1948 became the first director of the Marshall Plan.

By our count there are at present forty-nine countries and territories in Africa. On pages 34-38 we identify these countries and attempt to say something about the present political situation in each of them. We are indebted to the January, 1960, issue of *Africa Special Report* for much of this information. The charts on pages 38-40 are from the pamphlet *One Hundred Countries*, by Paul Hoffman.



United States economic aid to Africa from 1948 through December, 1959, totaled a little over \$343 million. In the same period the Soviet economic aid to Africa amounted to about \$496 million—69 per cent of Egypt, 23 per cent to Ethiopia, and 8 per cent to Guinea.

We should keep in mind that Western Europe bears the brunt of economic development in Africa—nearly \$1 billion in 1959 alone. France far outdoes all other countries in the Western world in the proportion of the income channeled into the overseas programs of development. In 1959, for example, France's "foreign aid" amounted to 2.7 per cent of its gross national product (GNP). The U.S.A. figure for the same period was .75 per cent of our GNP. The figures for the United Kingdom, Belgium, and for the Netherlands are quite similar to those for the United States. Germany's contribution to the cause of overseas economic development is very low but will be increased in 1961. A unique program of technical assistance has been launched by Israel in Ghana.



Crossroads Africa, a project inspired and organized by Dr. James H. Robinson, of the Church of the Master in New York, this summer plans to send 150 students and group leaders to Africa. They will be coming from all parts of the United States. For information write to: Crossroads Africa, 360 West 122d Street, New York 27, N.Y.

—The SEA Staff

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA

Summary of Principal Findings from a Study Prepared
at the Request of the Committee on Foreign Relations
of the United States Senate by the Program of
African Studies of Northwestern University. Used by permission.

THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE United States has never had a positive, dynamic policy for Africa. Until very recently, we have looked to the continuing control by friendly European powers as a guarantee of stability and dependable co-operation and have been reluctant to acknowledge the principle of self-government as fully applicable to its peoples. Yet in 1960 we shall be dealing with nine or ten fully independent states in Subsaharan Africa alone, and a decade later with perhaps more than twice that number.

The fact that since World War II Subsaharan Africa has been effectively stable has reinforced a tendency to show little concern for the discontents of African peoples. The events regarded as critical in their impact on international relations may, indeed, have exerted a negative influence on our thinking about

Africa. That is, they diverted attention elsewhere and created a climate of opinion dominated by official and popular attitudes almost entirely irrelevant to the realities of the African scene.

Official statements repeat our historic position with respect to the aspirations of African peoples for self-government. However, these ideologically significant declarations are so qualified, as they hasten to add that self-government is only for those who can demonstrate that they are ready for it, that they lose much of their effect. Thus, Mr. Acheson, in 1949:

The United States supports the nationalist aspirations of those peoples who are progressively advancing toward the charter's goal of self-government or independence. It is the policy of our Government . . . to support the attainment of freedom by all peoples who, by their acts, show themselves worthy of it and ready for it.¹

Mr. McGhee, in 1950:

... It has been our traditional policy ... to assist ... in the ... advancement of dependent peoples along the road to eventual self-government or independence. We realize, however, that the evolution of dependent peoples toward political maturity must of necessity be an orderly process of events, if it is to succeed.²

Mr. Dulles, in 1958:

The United States supports political independence for all peoples who desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities.³

Mr. Satterthwaite, in 1959:

We support African political aspirations when they are moderate, nonviolent, and constructive and take into account their obligations to and interdependence with the world community. We also support the principle of continued African ties with Western Europe. We see no reason why there should be a conflict between these two concepts.⁴

A position of this kind nettles the Africans because of the qualifying caveats, while the European governing powers react to the presence of our traditional affirmation.

We write many prescriptions for self-government. African leaders must be able to withstand "extremist" pressures, and forsake "short-term" domestic political rewards; they must show moderation; they must be able to "rise above mere chauvinism" in border disputes; they must show preference for democracy as a political form; they must expand the area of their competence as legislators; they must be friendly to the metropolitan powers, recognizing the colonial contributions and showing a willingness to continue or expand existing ties with the metropole; they should demonstrate a preference for free enter-

prise, at least to the extent of choosing a "mixed" economy; they should be receptive to Western economic cooperation.

As for the African peoples, a continuing theme states our preference for steady evolutionary political progress as opposed to sudden, radical change; we feel that there should be an increasing literacy rate and school enrollment; that there be adequate medical facilities; that minority rights to persons and property be respected; and that there be no discrimination on the part of Africans against non-Africans living in their country.

Admittedly, it is not easy to adjust the machinery of policy-making to the rate of change in contemporary Africa. There is little question that where no conflict exists between the emergent African state and the governing European power, and when adequate notice of change is given, the United States can adapt pre-existing policy to meet the new situation. Our recognition of the Sudan and of Ghana was immediate, and we have recently raised the consulate in Yaoundé, French Cameroons, which we established only two years ago, to the level of a consulate general in anticipation of the change in status of that country from trust territory to an independent state. But the establishment of Guinea found us without even a consular agent in its capital. Moreover, we required over a month to recognize a government that had come into being in accordance with procedures laid down by our French ally; and we showed extreme caution in granting aid requested of us.

AFRICAN DYNAMICS AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Increasing African control in Africa is being faced by European governing powers and Africans alike. The free grant of self-government to the Sudan, Ghana, and Guinea, and next year to Nigeria, the Cameroons, Togo, and Somalia, is one indication of this. In January, 1959, the Belgian Government promulgated a revision of earlier policies for the Congo, which, with the Leopoldville riots, made it clear that the Congo would no longer be a bulwark between southern, European-dominated "White Africa" and the driving African nationalism of "Black Africa" to the north. In the multiracial states, devices such as the qualitative franchise and the communal roll, or concepts such as partnership and even apartheid, when viewed realistically, turn out to be means to stem the urgency of African aspirations.

A report in a South African newspaper, wherein a European was quoted as stating that "come what may, after the year 2000, all Africa, including South Africa, would be ruled by nonwhites," and that "freedom was creeping down from north to south of the continent" takes on added significance when we realize that the newspaper is published in Afrikaans and that the authority quoted, an Afrikaner, is a professor in an Afrikaner university.⁵

Acceleration in the rate of change in Africa is clearly shown in the materials that follow in the body of this report. It makes little difference, especially in that part of the continent lying south of the Sahara, which territories are considered. It

is apparent in the drift to newly built urban centers, in the incorporation of Africans into mining, large-scale agricultural schemes, and industry. It is reflected in the continuous increase in world trade as shown in imports and exports, in the growth of schools and school populations, and the number of African university graduates and post-graduate students in institutions of higher learning in Africa itself and in the rest of the world. It is evident in the many nationalist movements that have appeared; in the way in which Africans have learned to employ parliamentary procedures to achieve constitutional reform, where they have been allowed to do so; in the greater pressure of Africans for administrative responsibilities.

These unities in the changes taking place in Subsaharan Africa cut across earlier tribal and linguistic groupings. They readily move over present political boundaries, as delimited by treaties among the colonial powers, because of the arbitrary nature of these frontiers, which reflect few of the ethnic, geographic, or economic realities of the continent. And they do this despite the fact that for a half century or more, the peoples of these territories have been subject to the differing policies of the several governing powers; have become accustomed to different kinds of administrative procedures; have been taught different European languages; have grown up under different educational systems; and have been exposed to different forms of European values, institutions, and customary modes of behavior.

Here, however, a caution must be entered. Change is valued in our society. Because we find the changes that have been taking place in Africa so compelling, we allow them to obscure the force of antecedent tradition that underlies the continuities in the African scene. Though the changes in African ways of life are apparent even to the casual observer, lying beneath the innovations are the pre-existing cultures of the continent, which turn out to be no exotic and romantic survivals of an earlier day, doomed to extinction, but functioning realities of the present.

If we will but look, we will see the power of tradition manifested everywhere. In the political field, we can see it in the pull of tribal affiliations as against national allegiances; in the difficulties being faced by the newly independent African countries that arise out of a need to determine the position of traditional rulers in a modern state; in the problem of adapting the mechanisms and even more the ideologies of parliamentary democracy by peoples who for centuries have utilized different means of reaching political decisions.

Similar phenomena confront us in the economic sphere; in attempts to transfer agricultural work patterns to the rhythms of industrial labor; in efforts to accommodate a tradition of sharing wealth, income, and responsibilities for social welfare among members of a kin group to the requirements of an economic system based on individual initiative; in the new forms that African labor unions are taking. We can see this same mechanism functioning in the

religious field, as in the case of the many independent African Christian churches, which incorporate elements of European and African theology and ritual, and in addition have become centers of political activity. There is also a growing synthesis of European and traditional influences in the arts.

It is thus of the greatest importance for an understanding of contemporary Africa, and hence for the future of African-American relations, that we think in terms not of change, but of adjustment. In doing this, we must fully recognize the values Africans find in African ways of life. We must also recognize that adjustment is not unidirectional. Just as Africans are adjusting their ways to meet new needs, innovations from Europe and America are being given new shape and meaning as they are integrated into African life.

What is at stake here is essentially the direction that the future affiliation of the new African states will take, in terms of the friendships that can accelerate or stand in the way of attaining world peace. The most hardheaded approach to our foreign policy dictates that we phrase our statements and base our action on a recognition of the maturity of African peoples in terms of their own cultures, and of the validity of their own ways for them. The Prime Minister of Ghana, in his opening address at the All-African People's Conference of 1958, put the case quite unequivocally:

Some of us, I think, need reminding that Africa is a continent on its own. It is not an extension of Europe or of any

other continent. We want, therefore, to develop our own community and an African personality. Others may feel that they have evolved the very best way of life, but we are not bound, like slavish imi-

tators, to accept it as our mold. If we find the methods used by others are suitable to our social environments, we shall adopt or adapt them; if we find them unsuitable, we shall reject them.⁶

AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND MULTIRACIALISM

The growth of African nationalism presages the development of symbols of national individuality and worth. These may take on various forms. The French Society for African Culture provides an outstanding example of this development. Its key concept, *négritude*, is supernatural in the same way as the concept of "the African personality." The findings of the first conference of Negro writers and artists expressed the core of the idea, that

(a) our cultures be first interpreted by ourselves; (b) they express at the same time our very inner life and their universal calling.⁷

Should new political entities arise that are coterminous with linguistic boundaries, we may see language vested with a symbolic value, like Erse in Ireland or Hebrew in Israel. Work looking toward the recovery of the historic past is being prosecuted, and in societies such as those of Africa, where tradition has been handed down by word of mouth, this invites interpretations congruent with national aspirations.

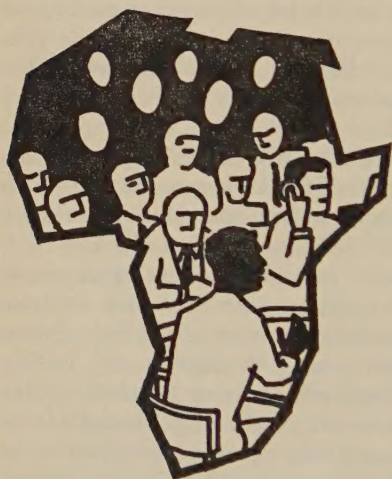
What all these symbols, actual and potential, have in common is insistence that the values of the African past and in present-day African cultures be recognized. The fact that African modes of life have been depreciated and African achievements denied has brought the predictable reaction that reasserts and stresses the worth of things African and the contribution Africans have made to

the store of human civilization. With our knowledge of the potency of symbols as cues to action, it is of great importance in our dealings with African peoples, and in our statements bearing on Africa and its future, that we recognize the sensibilities of the Africans as regards their own ways, and make clear that a search for alternatives under new conditions must, in the final analysis, be the task of the Africans themselves.

There are other important aspects of the African scene with which we must deal. Not all the population of Africa is composed of native Africans. Inevitabilities are by no means actualities, since colonial controls continue in most of the Subsaharan continent. Questions of raising standards of living through aid for economic, technological, and educational development press upon us. In the present world scene, the United States is concerned that Africa remain on friendly terms with the democracies. And because the factor of race enters so prominently in contemporary Africa, we must always be alert to the effect of racial tensions in our own country in shaping attitudes toward us in Africa.

In all the eastern and southern parts of the continent, where non-African minorities have permanently settled, the problems of adjustment follow racial lines. This is particularly true in the instance of eco-

conomic differentials, especially as regards standards of living and opportunities for advancement. It is frequently pointed out that comparable differentials, such as rural and urban slums, are to be found in even the most prosperous societies, and are thus no monopoly of these African countries. This reasoning, however logical, becomes less cogent when the racial factor is taken into account. For the class structure of the multiracial African societies is based on race, with opportunity closely correlated with skin color.



This holds whether average income, or comparative salary scales, or expenditures for education, housing, or any other factor be taken as an index of these differentials. In the African societies having three racial groups, this is the more striking. Here the Europeans hold the most favored position, the Asians next, the Africans the least.

On many occasions, the United States, as a member of the United Nations, must take a position on the problems of the multiracial African

societies. Tanganyika, a trust territory, is such a multiracial entity. The question of Southwest Africa turns largely on the position of the African inhabitants under the regime of apartheid of the Union of South Africa. In voting, we pass judgment, implicitly or explicitly, on that policy. We do not know whether the question of the relation between Nyasaland and the Central African Federation will be brought before the United Nations, but if its amalgamation with the Rhodesias is insisted on, and African protest continues, we may be forced to take a stand, as we are having to do on the Algerian issue.

Nor is this the only way in which we are involved in the affairs of these African multiracial societies. It is not likely that we will go as far as Great Britain did when, in aiding the financing of a new university college in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, it made its grant contingent on the adoption and implementation of a policy of interracialism in the institution. Yet our position in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has made substantial loans to both the Federation and the Union of South Africa, raises significant questions. We may ask whether in participating in these loans we are not tacitly supporting one party to internal interracial controversy by temporarily stabilizing a situation where racial inequality is a major factor in social and economic life. The question has also been posed whether, in continuing to purchase the gold of the Union of South Africa, we are not implicitly giving our approval to the *status quo*, and

thereby intervening in a situation of potential overt conflict.

The problem of balancing our obligations to those of our NATO associates who are colonial powers against the trend toward African control is still with us, although the rate of political change in Africa makes this problem much less pressing than in earlier years. The United Kingdom, during the past half decade, has implemented its policy of the peaceful transfer of control in West Africa by granting independence to Ghana and bringing Sierra Leone a considerable distance on the road to self-government. Nigeria will be independent next year, and plebiscites will determine the fate of the British Cameroons. In former French territories south of the Sahara, Guinea is a separate state; Togo and French Cameroons will become self-governing in 1960. Elsewhere all former territories have become autonomous republics within the French community, with independence a matter of their own choosing. Belgium, as indicated, has declared for self-government for the Congo. Only Portugal, among the NATO powers with African possessions, holds to its traditional policy and the practices of classic, which is to say early, colonialism. As Dr. Salazar declared in a recent address, "Africa is the complement of Europe, indispensable to its defense, a necessary support for its economy." For him, "Literally, Africa is aflame," but the combustion, he holds, is due to external influences, not to the force of African aspirations. The maintenance of overseas controls, at all costs, is essential lest

"Europe be defeated in Africa."⁸ According to published reports, the only nationalism that exists is that found in the European population.

In the past, our policy-formulating officers have been faced with a dilemma: whether to act in accordance with the obviously strong sentiment in the United States in favor of self-government for dependent peoples that arises out of our own historical experience, or to give priority to the sensibilities of our associated states in NATO. Of the reality of the former sentiment there can be little doubt, and its force has been recognized in many statements made by officials of the colonial powers. This has gone so far that an editorial in a Lisbon newspaper, commenting on the Congo riots and the Nyasaland uprisings, bracketed the United States and Russia as the principal anticolonial forces in the world:

Portugal is not a sufficiently important country to be able on the diplomatic level to arrest Russian penetration or to explain to the Americans the error that they commit in accepting the fallacious idea of a struggle against colonialism. Under these conditions, we can only prepare ourselves to resist the difficulties we see ahead and the lack of understanding that faces us."⁹

As concerns the problem posed by our obligations to our European allies, there has been a tendency to allow U.S. policy toward Africa to be formulated in the capitals of Europe. The march of events in Africa itself, and the recent change in the internal organization of the Department of State that has brought Africa to the policy-making level, are causing a reassessment of our position, a procedure that is obviously an essential first step toward effective independent American action.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

In shaping our policy toward Africa, economic factors hold a place of primary relevance. The questions involved must be considered both in terms of the contributions of the private sector of our economy, and of aid given either by the U.S. Government, or less directly through the operations of international agencies in which the United States participates.

Though we have had private commercial and industrial relations with Africa for many years, these represent only a very small portion of our overseas economy. They have, moreover, been directed principally toward Liberia, South Africa, and the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Thus, whereas eleven U.S. firms were listed in Department of Commerce reports as having "substantial financial interests" in Nigerian companies in 1957, in 1952 there were in the Union alone more than this number in the fields of industrial machinery and equipment (15), and in that of drugs and cosmetics (13).

It is too soon to determine whether American capital will move in significant measure to the newly independent parts of the continent. The evident desire of these African states to encourage foreign investment seems to be having its effect. The number of representatives of American business concerns who have visited Ghana is one indication of this. In the older, established country of Liberia, the impact on the economy of the increase in investment in mining ventures, and in the commercial production of ba-

nanas, sisal, and other export crops, together with the growth of rubber plantations, has not gone unnoticed by African leaders elsewhere. There seems to be little fear among them that foreign investment means financial imperialism; against this the African states are protecting themselves by encouraging investment on a multilateral basis, with Government participation. Whatever the source of investment funds, consequent expansion of their economies will make for larger internal markets. It is reasonable to assume that these possibilities will attract U.S. private capital no less than the investors of other nations.

Economic growth can be accelerated by a planned diversification of production. African colonial economies have been called fragile because of their dependence on the export of a few items of primary agricultural or mineral products, whose prices fluctuate with the vagaries of the world market. The African states are fully alert to this vulnerable aspect of their economies. Aside from prestige factors, one of the reasons for the strength of the drive by Ghana to finance the Volta River scheme to produce aluminum is to diminish its reliance on cocoa as a principal source of income. The recent fall in the world price of non-ferrous metals caused serious political repercussions in the Congo and the Federation. Diversifying these economies would give them a more stable base and, on a more subtle psychological plane, permit the countries of Africa to move away from the classical colonial pattern that is increasingly resented by ar-

ticulate Africans because of the economic handicaps that it imposes on them.

The greatest present need of Africa, however, is for grants or loans that will permit the expansion in basic capital requirements and essential services that the economies of these territories cannot provide out of current revenue. This has been recognized since World War II by the colonial powers. The grants given African territories by the British Colonial Welfare and Development Fund and the French Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Économique et Social de la France d'Outre-Mer (FIDES) are examples of this. With these funds, roads and railways have been built, school systems extended, and other facilities have been provided that underdeveloped countries must have if levels of income and standards of living are to be raised.

One problem to be faced with the emergence of an added number of new self-governing states concerns future financing for recurrent expenditures now included in the aid programs of the powers that govern them. Heretofore, U.S. grants and loans were channeled principally into countries that played an active role in world strategy. It seems unlikely that in African states where the European population does not dominate this factor will enter significantly. The proclaimed neutrality of Africans in the world struggle will not encourage commitment on this level. One of the more striking developments in present-day Africa is the way in which Ghana, as one example, has turned to Israel for

technical assistance and for aid in financing major undertakings, such as the establishment of a steamship line. With technical skills to give, ecological problems that parallel those of many parts of Africa, and no political controls entering, the logic of seeking aid from that country is apparent. What the newly independent countries of Africa, and African leaders in territories that are at present nonself-governing, appear to desire when they speak of their material needs, is first of all technical assistance and training programs, and secondly, long-term, low-interest loans. But in obtaining these, they propose to avoid aid that has political strings attached.

In discussing aid with Africans, however, one gains the impression that human relations are as important as material needs in their thinking. The statement made by Sekou Touré when the question of whether Guinea should remain within the proposed French community was pending, that "We prefer poverty in freedom to prosperity under slavery" reads a lesson that the United States, in ordering its dealings with the new African states, can advantageously remember. Said one Ghanaian:

What we want from the United States is sympathy for our aspirations, and understanding for our mistakes.

Stated a Senegalese leader:

We will, of course, need financial help, but what we need most of all is your moral support.

In his opening address to the All-African People's Conference, Prime Minister Nkrumah put the priorities in this order:

Remember always that you have four stages to make—

1. The attainment of freedom and independence.
2. The consolidation of that freedom and independence.
3. The creation of unity and community between the free African states.
4. The economic and social reconstruction of Africa.

It is clear that in aiding African states to achieve the economic ends they have laid down for the betterment of their peoples, insight into their aspirations will pay rich returns in friendship and respect for the United States. There is good evidence that they will turn to us as a primary source of the aid they need. If we are imaginative in our operations, we have here a major opportunity to retain the good will toward us that undoubtedly exists, and to extend it.

The difficult questions of international relations that arise when aid is extended to the multiracial states have been touched on. However, other considerations enter. Loans to these countries, and grants given them have been in support of governmental projects, usually of some magnitude. These projects, which in their long-term effects are intended to aid the country as a whole, currently benefit only min-

imally the African majority in the population and, because they are remote from the immediate concerns of the people, they have little psychological impact on them. There is a certain amount of increased employment, and a possible raising of the African wage level in the jobs available in railroad or dam construction. But this is minor and, in the absence of planning to absorb the workers recruited into the permanent labor force, is terminal.

While the degree to which such projects may raise the general level of living standards of the total population is customarily elaborated, the extent to which aid of this character effectively functions to diminish the disparities in opportunity and reward that set off one racial group in these countries from another is rarely, if ever, considered. Here the human factor again enters, and in long-term, realistic thinking is quite as significant as the economic factors on which decisions are commonly based. A full overview of the problems we face in granting aid to these countries would seem to dictate that such human factors must be taken into account to a far greater extent than national and international lending agencies have hitherto done.

AFRICA AND THE EAST-WEST STRUGGLE

In the concern of the United States that Africa take a position in the current ideological and power struggle that will be to the advantage of this country, we approach a basic preoccupation of American foreign policy since World War II. It has been projected into Africa with the

actual or prospective independence of states that will be free agents in the international scene.

One aspect of this has to do with the numerous alternatives that arise out of the fluid complexities of politics in contemporary Africa. The choices before the African states are

far more varied than during the period when India established the principle of neutrality in the cold war, or even those implied in the Bandung Asian-African formula. Among these choices are for each state to go it alone, or for African states to affiliate as members of federations of varying degrees of looseness, or to ally themselves with the North African countries and through them with the Arabic world, or to align themselves with the European-American or with the Russian side of the East-West struggle.

Certain of these can be dismissed out of hand. The Bandung Conference, for example, seems to have had little continuing influence in Sub-Saharan Africa. The African component at that conference, except for Ethiopia, was composed of North African countries, and in it the points at issue were of the Communist versus anti-Communist variety. The bond that gives such unity as exists among African and Asian peoples is the slogan of anticolonialism. To the extent that the colonial powers are not responsive to the force of contemporary currents of world anticolonial thought, or react overtly in defiance of that thought, this can continue to be a powerful rallying cry. The intransigence of Portugal, the manipulations of political and economic mechanisms for the benefit of the European minority in the Union of South Africa, in the Federation, and to a more attenuated degree in East Africa and the Congo reinforce the power of anticolonialist slogans. For to the newly self-governing peoples of the world, as for those who remain under tutelage, colonialism is something that a

white nation does to a darker people.

As to the precise nature of the relation between the Subsaharan and North African states, it is to be noted that both belong to the African Caucusing Group in the United Nations, and that the North African states played a major role at the



Cairo Conference and were active in the Accra Conference of the Governments of the independent African states in May, 1958. On the other hand, though Prime Minister Nkrumah visited Cairo, Ghanaian ties with Israel have continued to be close; nor did the North African states play more than a minor part in the Accra All-African People's Conference.

It is too soon to predict what the effect of the Ghana-Guinea alliance will be. Other African territories may in the future affiliate with these two; Guinea may enter the Federation of Mali, and with Senegal and the Sudanese Republic make up an independent federated state. What is significant is how many African leaders are alert to the consequences

of what French-speaking West Africans call the "balkanization"—that is, the political fragmentation—of the continent, and the extent to which they are thinking in terms of large political aggregates. This must be kept in mind in our day-to-day operations in Africa, not only as regards our dealings with African states, but also in terms of their reactions to our position vis-à-vis the colonial powers and the multiracial states of Africa, the Portuguese territories, and the Congo.

At present, however, the principal question raised has to do with the position of present and future African states in the East-West struggle. The answer to this is now quite clear. Africans have demonstrated their preference for a neutrality that, other things being equal, will allow them to have continued dealings with the nations of the West with which they have been closely associated for more than half a century. The ties, however unilaterally developed, that exist between them and the European countries that governed or govern them will not be denied, and cannot easily be cut off. Sympathetic understanding of their views, and assistance when this is asked for, will constitute an effective argument for not rejecting well-established cultural and historical affiliations.

As far as can be determined, there has been minimal Communist penetration in Subsaharan Africa. The degree to which the Communist world is disappointed in the independent thinking of the Africans is apparent in an article by Professor Potekhin, a member of the Russian

delegation to the Accra People's Conference, in which he takes the Africans to task for the resolutions passed there, notably the one rejecting violent action against imperialism.¹⁰

In this connection, it is essential for us not to confuse communism and African nationalism. We hear of Communist wooing of African students in London and Paris, yet the consensus of observers is that when these students come home, they show few signs of indoctrination. Assertions as to the presence of Communist influence, indeed, are most often heard in the African countries whose commitment to the West is strongest—South Africa, the Federation, and the Portuguese territories. There are some Communists in the Union, and their support, like the support of any other non-Africans who work against current policies there, is accepted by the Africans who are attempting to free themselves of the inequities enforced by the dominant European group.

This, however, scarcely makes Communists of African nationalists. When we are told that Dr. Hastings Banda, the leader of the Nyasaland African Congress, was influenced by Communists because he met certain Russians at Accra—the Russian representation there totaling six, as against more than one hundred Americans—we may well ask for specific proofs of this influence. The explanation, accepted in England by persons of all shades of political opinion, that the unrest arose out of the circumstances under which the Federation was established and out of an intensified fear of the possibility that it might be accorded do-

minion status without adequate regard for African wishes, would seem to be more to the point.

There is agreement among those who know Africa and Africans well that the surest way to alienate Africans from the West would be to insist on active participation, on our side, in the East-West conflict. The statement of Mr. Eugene Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Develop-

ment, made recently in London about the limitations of attempting—

to try to use finance as an instrument of diplomacy—a method of winning or cultivating friends among nations for the purpose of maintaining or improving international alignments in a time of world tension¹¹ is particularly applicable to Africa. Friendship cannot be bought; we might remember that this is as true in the case of Russian aid, extended for political and military reasons, as it is in the case of our own aid.

TOWARD A POSITIVE APPROACH

For the continuation of good relations between the United States and Africa, we must relinquish the negative, *ad hoc* approach that has marked many of our policy statements and operations of our various Government departments and agencies concerned with African affairs. We must, above all, move beyond the compulsive preoccupation with Communist penetration that has so strongly motivated our actions. Because an African state exchanges diplomatic representatives with Iron Curtain countries, or sends some students to study there, or accepts technical aid from them, this does not mean that political commitment to Communism will necessarily follow. An exchange of diplomatic representation means that the African states, in the fullest sense, are moving into the larger world.

Knowledge, imagination, courage, and sympathy: these are the ingredients of a successful U.S. policy for Africa. We have as much to give on the ideological plane as on that of finance and technology, if we will but utilize wisely the advantages of our historic tradition. In formulating our position, we need not desert our European associates who are colonial powers, nor in every case follow the lead of Africans. If the African states are striving to assert an African personality, let us remember that we pride ourselves on our own long-established personality, which we call the American way. If we live up to this image of ourselves and through our acts project its reality, we shall have no difficulty in gaining and maintaining the degree of friendly relations we hope to maintain in Africa.

¹ *U.S. Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, No. 535, Oct. 3, 1949, p. 496.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, No. 572, June 19, 1950, p. 1001.

³ From a condensed version of a speech delivered at Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 18, 1958, quoted by J. C. Satterthwaite in an address before the Southern Assembly at Biloxi, Mississippi, Jan. 17, 1959, as reported in *Africa Special Report*, Vol. IV, No. 3, March, 1959, p. 9.

⁴ *U.S. Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. XL, May 29, 1959, p. 748.

⁵ *Press Digest* (South Africa), March 12 (No. 10), 1959, p. 88, from *Die Transvaler*, March 11, 1959.

⁶ *All-African People's Conference News Bulletin*, Vol. i, No. 1, p. 6.

⁷ "Africa, Seen by American Negroes" (*Presence Africaine*, Paris, 1958), p. 8 of insert at end of volume.

⁸ *Noticias de Portugal*, Vol. XIII, No. 630, May 30, 1959, p. 4.

⁹ *O Seculo* (Lisbon), March 11, 1959.

¹⁰ I. Potekhin, "Africa Shakes Off Colonial Slavery," *International Affairs*, No. 2, 1959, p. 87.

¹¹ *The New York Times*, May 6, 1959, p. 19.

AFRICA ADVANCING

Address by SIR FRANCIS IBIAM, Chairman of the All-Africa Church Conference, February 2, 1960, at the Consultation on African Affairs of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

I AM DEEPLY conscious of the honor and the privilege that are mine in being asked to be one of the speakers at this gathering of the people of God. It is a unique and singular opportunity for me to address you on behalf of Africa and its peoples, not because I am the most eloquent representative of our vast and interrogative continent, but because it is God's will and by his grace that I should do so.

To be fair and just to Africa, I must be frank in my speech, even aggressive wherever necessary, and repeat myself for the sake of emphasis. I have no apologies to offer, not only because what I'm going to say will be factual, but also particularly because I am addressing an audience whose primary objective in life is one of Christian living and Christian witness.

Foreign Domination

Over the years, Africa and its peo-

ples have been subjugated, oppressed, and dominated by foreign powers originating from European countries. Its resources—human, natural, and economic, have been exploited mainly for the benefit of their self-imposed rulers and masters. In the iniquitous slave traffic of many generations ago, the people of Africa provided the merchandise willy-nilly. Helped by Arab marauders and punitive local wars, hordes of my people were carried into slavery. In America, my brothers and sisters, by enforced labor and the position in which they found themselves, built up wealthy families and helped make America's cities, towns, villages, and hamlets rich, prosperous, and happy.

Toward the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, the continent of Africa fell a prey to the avarice of European countries. Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain shared

SOCIAL PROGRESS

out Africa and its peoples amongst themselves without any ceremony and without the consent of the owner of the lands. In the scramble for Africa, no one paid any attention to ethnic and linguistic groups. It was enough that these European countries had the guns and the power. And so it has been that for generations the black man has been the footstool and the door mat of the rest of the world. His continent was the property of everyone. Intellectually, he had been branded a nitwit. Some European nations believed and some still believe, that the black man was specially made by God for the benefit of the white man and must remain forever hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Today, in this our age and generation, it is hard to believe that millions of my brothers and sisters are being trammelled and deprived of their human rights even in their own God-given lands by ungodly and selfish Governments. In the United States of America, in spite of the fact that the "nation was founded on the concept of liberty and justice for all its citizens" (with apologies to the present President of the U.S.A.), Afro-Americans are still being shamefully discriminated against in many departments of America's national life. In many other Anglo-Saxon worlds, the doors of opportunity and progress are shut to the African. In the multiracial countries of the continent—Kenya, Central Africa, South Africa, the Congo, Mozambique, Angola, democratic representations are no longer accepted as the ideal. The minority populations, composed, as they are, of white settlers, must rule the ma-

jority populations of Africa. It is to be noted that our detractors not only originate from Christian countries, but many of them profess Christianity, and have churches.

Christian Witness

Africa, however, is not going to stay down in the rut forever. It was not meant that it should. Like the prophet Isaiah, we may well ask, "Lord, how long?" If the people of Europe wolfishly and shamelessly partitioned and selfishly exploited Africa, they also brought to Africa the good news of the gospel of Jesus Christ and its saving grace. Africa owes a world of debt to the Christian church for Christian education and health services that bear testimony to countless men and women of Europe who, fired by Christian zeal and love for their fellow men, heard the call and forsook all and followed their Lord and Master in Africa. Through this selfless service and enduring witness supported by home boards financially, morally, and prayerfully, they made it possible for millions of my people to know Him whom to know is eternal life. From Christian missions in Africa have emerged many churches some of which are already self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-determining.

But in these days of world chaos and rabid materialism, fervent and surging nationalism, political and other ideologies—not to mention communism—the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is having a rough passage, particularly in Africa. Many Africans no longer believe that Christianity is a universal religion. Some have affirmed that it is a re-

ligion especially peculiar to the white man. The church, by which I mean, the people who comprise the Christian community, has not lived up to the truth and the teachings of Him who died to save mankind. By his life and his action, the white Christian has belied the truth that all men are created by God in his own image, and that all men of every clime and coast stand equal before God.



How can the Christian church explain away the evil practices of apartheid in the Union of South Africa, which has thrown millions of the black citizens of that country into a life of misery, unhappiness, and insecurity in a country full of the good things of life, which the Lord of heaven has provided for all? How can the church explain away the unnecessary conflict in many African countries in which the black citizens receive the worst deal in every bargain?

But you and I know that in Jesus Christ there is no East or West. In

him "there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all." If there are Christians who make evangelism difficult and who betray our Lord all over again; if some of God's children have forsaken God's covenant, thrown down his altars, and have slain his people with the edge of the sword; God says to us, "Yet I will leave seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth that has not kissed him." In the church of Christ today God has men and women who are devoted, true and zealous for the Lord God of hosts. For them the gospel of Christ still rings true and they accept our Lord's commission to go teach, preach, and heal.

All-Africa Conference

By this token, therefore, and by the eternal planning of God wisely and faithfully shown forth through his faithful servants, a pilot assembly of a conference designated the All-Africa Church Conference took place in Ibadan, Nigeria, for ten days from January 10 to 20, 1958. Twenty-five countries of Africa, including Egypt, Ethiopia, French- and Portuguese-speaking countries, and the Union of South Africa, sent a total of two hundred delegates to the Conference. Cost of transportation and extraneous and incidental expenses were mainly the responsibility of the International Missionary Council, under whose encouragement and auspices the Conference was able to meet. Hospitality was provided for all the delegates by the Christian Council of Nigeria, who were also the hosts

to the Conference. This hospitality was possible by a simple process whereby each person or congregation or school or institution or synod or diocese adopted a delegate at £1 (nearly three U.S. dollars) a day for ten days. In this way our Christian Council, of which I was then president, was able to provide a total of £2,000 (about \$6,000 U.S. dollars) to house and feed our guests.

The ten days in Ibadan were a period of real and warm Christian fellowship. For the first time in known history, the churches in Africa had an opportunity to "discover and love one another." In that atmosphere, charged with vision and inspired by high ideals for Christian service, the church in Africa woke up from its long slumber, so to speak, and realized with great force and intensity the tremendous task and responsibility that it has in the evangelization of the people of Africa. Papers on various subjects were presented, mainly by Africans themselves, and critically examined and discussed in a spirit of understanding and research. It was encouraging to note the confession of the churches in Africa to their shortcomings in very many ways. We needed to be more dynamic and militant in our witness for Christ; a closer and more frequent contact one with the other in every possible way that could be devised was absolutely and urgently desirable; the church in Africa must set its face resolutely and use every means at its disposal to win Africa for Christ and his Kingdom.

At the close of the Assembly the Conference appointed a Provisional

Committee of ten members to consult with Christian councils, church bodies, and other Christian agencies at work in Africa with a view to organizing a permanent All-Africa Church Conference. This Committee last fall adopted a three point program.

First, the Committee appointed Dr. Donald M'Timkulu as its Secretary until the next Assembly of the AACC, which, we hope, will be convened at the end of 1962. Dr. M'Timkulu is a layman, and qualifies for this important post by his long connection with the church and with education in the Union of South Africa. An M.A. and a Ph.D., Dr. M'Timkulu had held the posts of the Principalship of Adams High School and Ohtange Institute and was a Senior Lecturer in Education at Fort Hare. He has also served on many public bodies with distinction.

Second, it was agreed that the Secretariat of the AACC should be established, if only temporarily, at the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia.

Third, a budget of about £5,400 (nearly \$16,000 in U.S. dollars) per year was adopted, and it was hoped that most of the money would be a primary concern of the churches of Africa. The IMC, however, is at present bearing the cost of the budget. I have made an appeal to individual Christians and bodies of Christians to give us their financial support. We ask for your prayers, that God may prosper the AACC and make it a successful instrument whereby Africa will march triumphantly from superstitious darkness and ignorance to the light of God.

Independence

Side by side with the forward march of the church in Africa, every country of the continent is set for independence and for sovereign statehood. Africa is tired of being under the shackles and trappings of foreign rule, and must throw this yoke off as soon as possible. The enemies of Africa, both in church and state, are watching this move with anxious concern and a determination to keep us in bondage for as long as they possibly can. But we can assure them that inasmuch as our cause is a righteous cause—for it is our birthright to manage our own affairs in our own countries however we will—theirs is a losing game. Our enemies may be mighty, but right is on our side whether they see it or not.

Although the black man is deeply and sincerely committed to regaining his political independence and self-respect, I would like to point out very clearly that the African does not want to be a white man. Personally, the more I travel around the world, the more I give humble thanks to God for making me belong to Africa. The African, like the European, and like any other human being, sincerely desires to live freely without let or hindrance, but within the bounds of law, if not in other countries, at least in his own homeland wherever that may be.

Discrimination

I must, therefore, pass on this message to the church upon whom God has poured wisdom and knowledge, love and spiritual power, that what agitates Africa and its peoples is the great and glaring injustice that is

being meted out to them, not so much in other countries as in their homelands. I would like to repeat here what I have said elsewhere. It is a strange and exasperating thing to note that discrimination is strongest in the British section of the world. Starting from the United Kingdom of Great Britain itself, this monster (discrimination) finds its way to the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand, and all colonial territories. Here discrimination grows horns and knobs. In the Union of South Africa, the thing has become a Frankenstein in stature and dimensions.

About a fortnight ago, on January 22, there was a newspaper report to the effect that about 350 miners were trapped below ground in a South African colliery. Rescue teams included whites and blacks. The newspaper went on to say:

"There have been no knocking noises to indicate that the trapped men, 350 Africans and 4 whites, are still alive."

Unfortunately, until now, there has been no news of hope that the men are still alive. But if by the grace of God they are eventually rescued, the 350 Africans would continue to be subjected to the laws of apartheid, and be required to produce their passes whenever they ventured outside their homes. For more than six months Dr. Hastings Banda, of Nyasaland, has been under custody and in prison without trial, because he dared to champion the cause of the Nyasas, even though a Commission of Enquiry set up by the United Kingdom Government found nothing against him regarding the cause of the disturbances in

Nyasaland in the days immediately preceding Dr. Banda's arrest and detention.

In Australia the aborigines to whom Australia and its islands (Australasia) belong have no say in the Government of their country. If



they have, let the Australian Government tell the world. Australia is now mostly a country belonging to the people of British origin. The same may be said of New Zealand, the land of the Maoris. Although the lot of the Maoris is better than that of most of the aborigines of Australia, nevertheless, a good deal of discrimination against them is still going on. Else why has the New Zealand Rugby Football Association agreed to send a team composed of whites only to South Africa in their next tour to that country? By this decision, the white population of New Zealand, which is essentially British and Christian, knowingly approved discrimination against and insult to its black population, the Maoris, by another country whose population contains British people in great num-

bers. In the United States of America, the Afro-Americans are still not out of the woods in spite of laws and regulations giving them the status of American citizenship.

The Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique may not know any sort of freedom at all for a long time to come because of the suppressive policy of the Government of Portugal.

These countries are Christian countries, and they practice Christianity. This kind of treatment breeds hatred and fierce nationalism. It antagonizes Christian evangelism. Let the church ponder over these abnormal happenings in our day and generation. Until Africa and its peoples are received by the church and by the world with open arms, and on equal terms, Christian evangelism in Africa will continue to have a rough passage.

One Church

All forms of superiority complex and imperialistic outlook must be done away with. Peter and James, John, Paul, and all of them who were the first ambassadors of the Christian gospel, were men void of offense. They counted all men equal before God. They stood on no pedestal, nor did they hanker after other people's lands or possessions, but they lived in complete obedience to their Lord and Master.

Until the church universal is born anew in Jesus Christ, until all Christians, such as we are, begin to live in complete obedience to their Lord and Master, irrespective of man-made class, irrespective of creed or color, let us not suppose that God himself would be well pleased with

the church. One church was not made for the Jews, another for the Gentiles, another for the slave, and another for the free. Neither is there a church for the white man, and another for the black man. "There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all." (Eph. 4: 4-6.)

It cannot be said that Africa has nothing to contribute to the progress of the world. Given the proper stage, and the proper setting, Africa and its peoples have much from which the whole world can benefit. African art and African music are not commodities imported from Western Europe and America or anywhere else. Our innate sense of loyalty and deep religious convictions, and capacity for work, and our ability to suffer long and "Still hold on when there is nothing in you, Except the will which says to them 'hold on!'" are attributes that the world can profitably learn from Africa and its people. It is well for the church of Christ in the world to take sharp note of these happenings and look into the matter with greatest urgency. The church must speak against them, not only constantly and with a prophetic voice, but it must also take active Christian steps against these evils.

Christian Action

At this point let me state the line of action that I consider appropriate for the church to take in respect to the affairs in Africa.

1. The world-wide church must

speak continuously and insistently, but in Christian love, against all forms of discrimination that are directed to the African because of his color. Discrimination on grounds of inefficiency and incompetence is necessary and justifiable, but this must affect all comers be they black, white, or yellow.

2. The churches in Africa would be happy to welcome men and women of true missionary zeal to help in the following categories of Christian service:

a. We need teachers in secondary grammar schools, teacher training and theological colleges, and in technical education. We need doctors and nursing sisters in missionary hospitals. We also need social workers in establishments set up by the church. But such missionaries must be the kind of persons who would be happy to work with the nationals on equal terms and partnership.

b. I advocate an interchange of suitable personnel between the countries of Africa and the more advanced countries of the West.

c. Friendly arrangements to enable deserving and able students of Africa to study in the educational establishments, not only in the United States of America, but also in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, would be a most acceptable proposition. Wherever indicated, a judicious award of scholarship would be very useful.

d. The people of Africa deplore the fact that certain propaganda has been used against them for many decades to their disadvantage and hurt. To engender and encourage Christian friendliness and understanding the African would appre-

ciate being represented outside Africa in his proper setting by travelers and adventurers.

e. I strongly advocate regular visits to Africa by executives of church agencies, influential business men and women, and Government's top officials. This would enable them to see Africa as it is and so have firsthand knowledge of the continent and its peoples.

f. And last, but by no means the least, Africa asks for your fervent prayers that as it strives to attain sovereignty and independence, the church in Africa may play its role faithfully and courageously so that the Governments of the countries of Africa may be founded upon truth and righteousness.

In conclusion, I would like to pay tribute where tribute is due, and to do honor where honor is due. We in Africa are deeply grateful to many individual European Christians who, despite unhappy consequences to their person and prestige, have championed the cause of the African with courage and strength. I name one or two outstanding men in the persons of Rev. Michael Scott and Rev. Father Huddleston, both of South Africa. I also include in this category the name of Dr. de Blank, Archbishop of South Africa. These men have shown that they are true Christians and servants of the Most High God. For their Christian courage and fortitude, and for the shining example they have set the church, we give praise and glory to God.

It is true that the lot of the Afro-Americans in the United States of America is one of enforced hardship and frustration, yet one cannot over-

look the fact that the U.S. Government has rightly exercised its power to make it possible for this section of the American citizens to be legally protected and given every opportunity to make good and to pursue their lives like ordinary men and women in a country of their birth. In this connection, I pay special tribute to the organizations in the United States that have labored faithfully and fruitfully for over fifty years "to make equal opportunity a reality, not just a lofty phrase." These organizations have striven consciously and determinedly to get all Americans to live according to words that were put on paper toward the end of the eighteenth century—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." Their members have the admiration and the acclamation of the people of Africa. Africa hopes that similar organizations throughout Christendom will continue their humanitarian services to the black man, until public opinion and feelings are thoroughly aroused to see such injustice toward the peoples of Africa.

In speaking clearly and fearlessly against the Government of Nyasaland for the unhappy events that took place in that country in recent times, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has shown the Christian way. The church universal should follow in that way. And what is more, the church can go all the way to the cross for the sake of truth and righteousness, and in the power of Him who called it to be the instrument for the extension of his Kingdom to the end of time.

What Is an Underdeveloped Country?

*From One Hundred Countries—One and a Quarter Billion People,
by Paul G. Hoffman, Committee for International
Economic Growth, Washington, D.C. Used by permission.*

EVERYONE knows an underdeveloped country when he sees one. It is a country characterized by poverty, with beggars in the cities, and villagers eking out a bare subsistence in the rural areas. It is a country lacking in factories of its own, usually with inadequate supplies of power and light. It usually has insufficient roads and railroads, insufficient government services, poor communications. It has few hospitals, and few institutions of higher learning. Most of its people cannot read or write. In spite of the generally prevailing poverty of the people, it may have isolated islands of wealth, with a few persons living in luxury. Its banking system is poor; small loans have to be obtained through moneylenders who are often little better than extortionists. Another striking characteristic of an underdeveloped country is that its exports to other countries usually consist almost entirely of raw mate-

rials, ores or fruits or some staple product with possibly a small admixture of luxury handicrafts. Often the extraction or cultivation of these raw material exports is in the hands of foreign companies.

Some of these underdeveloped countries are new. Others of the underdeveloped countries, oddly enough, are among the oldest known to history and were the seats of refined and elaborate cultures while Europe was in a state of barbarism and America was yet undiscovered. In some of these ancient centers of culture, such as India and China, there is reason to believe that the life of the average man is worse than it was centuries ago. Today in these countries population has increased to such an extent that the ancient methods of agriculture and handicraft can no longer provide adequate food and goods to meet even basic needs.

While it is thus fairly simple to

tell that a country is underdeveloped, it is not so easy to measure the extent of its underdevelopment or to set up an exact statistical definition of what constitutes underdevelopment.

Yardsticks

Over the last fifty years or so the great industrial nations, such as the United States and many countries in Western Europe, have been carefully watching and measuring their own economies with a variety of statistical yardsticks. In the United States we know, for example, with considerable precision how much money the banks loaned last month, how many freight cars were loaded, how much money was paid out in wages and at what rates, and how many people were employed. The underdeveloped countries, lacking both business and governmental statistics, are unable to measure their own economies in this way. They have some statistics, and they can guess at others; but by and large they lack information about themselves. Just to take an example, all over Africa it is virtually impossible to get accurate figures on the indigenous population because back in the jungles and villages there is no uniform system for registering births and deaths.

International organizations have done a great deal to push back the fog of statistical darkness. One of the important tasks of the UN, for example, has been to help underdeveloped nations set up statistical services and to correlate and coordinate the available statistics for the whole world. Out of these efforts, a general picture is beginning to

emerge. Where detailed statistics are lacking, generalizations can be made based on samples, and projections can be drawn based on known trends. Figures on world trade are of great help here because exports and imports and international payments have to pass through customs houses, banks, or other Government agencies and so can be recorded.

Per Capita Income

Using such statistics as are available, we can arrive at a rough general definition of an underdeveloped country and get some idea of the number of underdeveloped countries and the extent of their economic problems, but it must be understood that any such generalizations are necessarily somewhat arbitrary. One of the simplest yardsticks for measuring a country's relative development is the average annual per capita income of its citizens. This index is arrived at by taking its total annual income, as revealed through production figures and other data, and dividing it by the number of individuals of all ages and conditions. It is then put in terms of a common currency such as United States dollars. Admittedly, this index does not express the real income of any peoples in any country. Conversion into dollars is not always meaningful. But the indexes of the various countries considered together do give a rough picture of their relative status in terms of economic organization and activity. If you apply the income per capita yardstick, you discover, of course, that the United States and Canada and several of the European countries are at the top of the list with average annual per capita in-

comes between \$1,000 and \$2,000. We can safely take a \$300 average annual per capita income as the dividing line between the developed and underdeveloped countries. Half of these countries, with a population of 838 millions (about 70 per cent of the one and one quarter billion people with whom we are here concerned), have an average per capita income of less than \$100 a year.



If an underdeveloped country is to raise its average annual per capita income, it must increase its production and consumption—that is, its workers must produce more food, clothing, shelter, and the other necessities and amenities of life. This means greater output per worker on the farm and in the factory. It means adding mechanical horsepower to muscle power. This requires new techniques and increased investment.

Capital Investment

By investment we mean the creation of new power supplies, the building of factories, plants, and fa-

cilities, the development of natural resources, and the training of personnel, which enable a country to produce more. If you want to increase agricultural production, for example, you must have fertilizer, and to make fertilizer you have to have chemical plants; you have to have facilities for extracting phosphates and the other ingredients of fertilizer; you have to have factories to make the bags to put fertilizer in; you have to have roads and carts or trucks to carry the fertilizer to the farms; and you have to have trained clerks, accountants, machinists, chemists, salesmen, and administrators to guide and control the whole operation. The same thing is true if you want to install an irrigation system, and the process grows even more complicated if you want to make more textiles and clothing or sewing machines or automobiles.

In the developed countries we obtain the money for capital investment through savings. Saving is the money we take out of our day-to-day consumption and lay aside for future use. The richer people get and the more money they make, the larger amounts they can save, and the more investment an economy can make. Our savings and investment operations are very complex and involve vast amounts of money; in the United States, for example, investment runs at a rate of about 15 per cent of national income.

In underdeveloped countries it is extremely difficult to build up enough savings to make the needed capital investments. Where people are living from hand to mouth they have nothing they can set aside for the future. If their incomes are in-

creased, they will buy a pair of shoes or a new kettle rather than save. As population increases and the average annual income goes down, the problem of building up savings becomes desperate. Furthermore, many underdeveloped countries do not have an administrative setup for encouraging savings or a sufficient number of educated and trained people to apply the savings to investment and to be sure the money does the job.

Help from Other Countries

For these reasons, underdeveloped countries, if they are to make a start on capital investment, have to get a portion of their savings and their know-how from other countries. If with borrowed savings they can create new capital investment and begin to raise the income of their people, then they can begin to save more on their own account and have more to invest in their own expansion, as well as to pay back their borrowings.

Historians are fond of pointing out that this is the way the United States got started. We had a lot of splendid natural resources, but our pioneers, building their subsistence farms on the frontier, were not able to save very much for new investment. They had a hard, hand-to-mouth existence, as we all know. Consequently, some of our greatest capital improvements in the early days of this country came from abroad.

This is the traditional free enterprise way by which a new or underdeveloped country gets its start and grows up into the cycle of higher incomes, higher production, and increasing savings and investment.

There is, however, another way—

one that has been used by dictators, ancient, medieval, and modern—and that is the way of forced savings. It is the way of building up capital by making people work harder and holding down their consumption by state controls. Modern dictators add the new twist of maintaining morale and even building up a measure of enthusiasm for enforced sacrifice through continuous propaganda. In these ways all the increase in production can be devoted to capital investment—to building dams and factories and roads and railroads and the like. It is a ruthless way to do things, but if practiced long enough and rigorously enough, it results in building up sufficient capital investment to enable an underdeveloped country to develop itself with its own resources much faster than would be possible otherwise. But the human cost—to both body and spirit of whole generations—can be frightful.

The issue confronting the underdeveloped countries in these times is which of these two methods of increasing their savings and investments they will use.

The Way of Freedom

If they are to develop in freedom, they must not only have loans from developed countries, but they must also increase their exports and earn enough money in world trade not only to pay back the loans but to import additional capital goods. As the developed countries continue to trade with the underdeveloped countries, the level of international income and production will rise just as it rises in each individual country. This is an effort to create a growing free world economy.

Declaration of the Rights of the Child

PREAMBLE

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person, and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas the United Nations has, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Whereas the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth,

Whereas the need for such special safeguards has been stated in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, and recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the statutes of specialized agencies and international organizations concerned with the welfare of children,

Whereas mankind owes to the child the best it has to give,

Now therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of the Rights of the Child to the end that he may have a happy childhood and enjoy for his own good and for the good of society the rights and freedoms herein set forth, and calls upon parents, upon men and women as individuals, and upon voluntary organizations, local authorities, and national Governments to recognize these rights and strive for their observance by legislative and other measures progressively taken in accordance with the following principles:

PRINCIPLE 1

The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. All children, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or of his family.

Approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, December, 1959.

PRINCIPLE 2

The child shall enjoy special protection, and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop physically, mentally, morally, spiritually, and socially in a healthy and normal manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity. In the enactment of laws for this purpose the best interests of the child shall be the paramount consideration.

PRINCIPLE 3

The child shall be entitled from his birth to a name and a nationality.

PRINCIPLE 4

The child shall enjoy the benefits of social security. He shall be entitled to grow and develop in health; to this end special care and protection shall be provided both to him and to his mother, including adequate prenatal and postnatal care. The child shall have the right to adequate nutrition, housing, recreation, and medical services.

PRINCIPLE 5

The child who is physically, mentally, or socially handicapped shall be given the special treatment, education, and care required by his particular condition.

PRINCIPLE 6

The child, for the full and harmonious development of his personality, needs love and understanding. He shall, wherever possible, grow up in the care and under the responsibility of his parents, and in any case in an atmosphere of affection and of moral and material security; a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from his mother. Society and the public authorities shall have the duty to extend particular care to children without a family and to those without adequate means of support. Payment of state and other assistance toward the maintenance of children of large families is desirable.

PRINCIPLE 7

The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education that will promote his general culture, and enable him on a basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgment, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.

The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.

The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavor to promote the enjoyment of this right.

PRINCIPLE 8

The child shall in all circumstances be among the first to receive protection and relief.

PRINCIPLE 9

The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty, and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic, in any form.

The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment that would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental, or moral development.

PRINCIPLE 10

The child shall be protected from practices that may foster racial, religious, and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace, and universal brotherhood and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men.

Forecast Growth of Population Between 1960 and 1970

	Total Population (Millions)		Increase, 1960-1970	
	1960	1970	Millions	Per cent
North Africa	53	67	14	26
Africa (South of Sahara)	182	211	29	16

Estimated Per Capita National Income in U.S. Dollars

Annual Average 1955-1957

	Dollars
Average: less developed countries of Africa	\$ 100
U.S.S.R.	550
Average: Italy, West Germany, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands	700
Average: United Kingdom, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria	875
Canada	1,450
United States	2,075

Africa Today



From *This Is Africa South of the Sahara*, by Newell S. Booth. Friendship Press, 1959. Used by permission.

The Changing Face of Africa

Independent at End of World War II

Egypt—Became a republic when an army coup under General Mohammed Naguib overthrew King Farouk in 1952. Gamal Abdel Nasser rose to power and became president in 1954. In 1958 Egypt and Syria joined to become the United Arab Republic with Nasser continuing as president. Most influential Arab nation.

Ethiopia—Independent for centuries except for five years (1935-1940) of Italian occupation. Federated with Eritrea, former Italian colony, in 1952. New constitution and bill of rights effective in 1955. Constitutional monarchy under Emperor Haile Selassie.

Liberia—Established in 1822 as home for freed American slaves. Has continued as an independent republic. William V. S. Tubman president since 1943, elected to fourth term in 1959.

Union of South Africa—Sovereign member of British Commonwealth since 1910. May declare itself a republic in 1960. Considers South-west Africa, former German colony, as part of territory despite efforts of UN to make it a trust territory. Within the Union's borders are three British enclaves—Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. Government racial policies retard progress.

Gained Independence 1946-1959

Ghana—Formerly the Gold Coast, a British colony. Achieved full independence with new name in 1957. Also includes British Togoland, former UN trust territory. Part of British Commonwealth with Kwame Nkrumah as prime minister. Has approved federation with Guinea.

Guinea—Formerly part of French West Africa. Became independent in 1958 by virtue of General Charles de Gaulle's offer of a new constitution. Has approved confederation with Ghana, but terms have not been spelled out.

Libya—Formerly an Italian colony. UN General Assembly voted in favor of independence in 1949. Formal proclamation of independence by King Idris on December 24, 1951.

Morocco—A French protectorate since 1912. Sovereignty recognized by France in 1955; independence proclaimed in 1956. Spain recognized Moroccan sovereignty over a zone on the north coast previously controlled by Spain.

Sudan—Former colony variously involved in Egyptian history for years. Ruled from 1899 to 1953 by

a British-Egyptian "condominium," followed by three-year transition period aiming at self-determination. Much talk of possible union with Egypt, but Sudanese proclaimed independence in 1956. Military coup in 1958 brought General Ibrahim Abboud to power.

Independence Scheduled for 1960

Belgian Congo—Belgian colony since 1885. Scheduled to become independent June 30, 1960. National elections prior to that date. Nature of post-independence ties between Belgium and Congo now being negotiated.

Cameroun—UN trust territory under France since 1946, granted internal autonomy in 1958. Achieved independence January 1, 1960, with admission to UN quickly following. Premier Ahmadou Ahidjo in office since 1958.

Nigeria—British colony and protectorate, Nigeria attained new constitution in 1947 and 1951 with additional changes in 1958 and 1959. In elections on December 12, 1959,

Tunisia—French protectorate since 1881; gained independence in 1956. Proclaimed the republic in 1957. Leading figure is President Habib Bourguiba, who has become a vigorous advocate for the independence of all of Africa and for continental unity through federation.

people chose a government that will take the country into full independence on October 1, 1960. Will be the largest of the new African states in population.

Somalia—Former Italian colony, became UN trust territory under Italian administration in 1949. First elections in 1956. Late in 1959 UN General Assembly moved up the date of independence to July 1, 1960. Western border under dispute with Ethiopia.

Togo—Formerly belonged to Germany. A UN trust territory administered by France as autonomous republic within French Overseas Community. Will become fully independent on April 27, 1960.

British Areas

Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland—The first of these three territories is a British colony, the other two are British protectorates administered through the office of the British High Commissioner to South Africa. Repeated attempts by the Union of South Africa to take over these territories were rejected by the British.

British Cameroons—Western portion of former German protectorate,

which came under British administration at the end of World War I. Northern region voted in 1959 to continue as UN trust territory. In UN supervised plebiscites to be held before end of March, 1961, both Northern and Southern Regions will choose between union with Nigeria, which becomes independent in 1960, or with Cameroun.

British Somaliland—Continues as British protectorate.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—Formed in 1953. Includes self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Rioting in Nyasaland in early 1959 met with strong emergency measures. Advisory body holding hearings preliminary to constitutional talks in fall of 1960.

Gambia—Britain committed to grant self-government to this small colony, but no timetable at present. In September, 1959, universal adult suffrage was announced and elections under new constitution promised for 1960. This is the oldest, smallest, and poorest British colony in West Africa.

Kenya—Colony and protectorate, achieved measure of multiracial local government in 1954. Mau Mau revolt met with strong emergency measures, which were relaxed at the beginning of 1960. Constitutional talks now being held in London to determine nature and timing of independence. Freedom movement led by Tom Mboya.

Sierra Leone—Small coastal colony and inland protectorate on west coast. Constitutional changes in 1953 and 1956. Further progress toward self-rule expected from talks scheduled in London early this year.

Tanganyika—UN trust territory promised internal self-government in 1960. Effective multiracial alignment achieved under brilliant African leader, Julius Nyerere, who will probably become first prime minister. Some talk of federation with other West African states.

Uganda—Protectorate on north shore of Victoria Lake torn by internal struggles. Kingdom of Buganda unwilling to risk loss of power by participating in unitary government. Britain's goal is independence although uncertain conditions make future difficult to define.

Zanzibar—Island protectorate off coast of Tanganyika. Ruled by Arab sultan with advice of British Resident. First elections 1957. Further constitutional changes broadening representation and suffrage in 1959.

French Community

Former French Equatorial Africa
Central African Republic—Formerly French territory of Ubangi-Shari. Became autonomous republic within French Community, December 1, 1958.

Gabon Republic—Former territory became autonomous republic in French Community, November 28, 1958.

Republic of the Chad—Former

territory became autonomous republic in French Community, November 28, 1958.

Republic of the Congo—Formerly territory of the Middle Congo. Became autonomous republic in French Community, November 28, 1958.

Former French West Africa
Mali Federation—Includes Senegal (which became State of Senegal

November 25, 1958) and French Soudan (which became Sudanese Republic November 24, 1958). Federation established in January, 1959. Moving toward independence with new type of relationship between France and former colonies resembling that of British commonwealth. Dakar on Senegal coast most westernized of all the cities of the area.

Mauritanian Islamic Republic—Former Mauritania, became autonomous republic in French Community, November 28, 1958.

Republic of Dahomey—Became autonomous republic in French Community, December 4, 1958.

Republic of the Ivory Coast—Became autonomous republic in French Community, December 4, 1958.

Republic of Niger—Became autonomous republic in French Community, December 19, 1958.

Voltaic Republic—Former Upper Volta became autonomous republic in French Community, December 11, 1958.

Volta, Dahomey, Niger, and the Ivory Coast may form a union similar to the Mali Federation called Conseil de l'Entente. No plans for

independence have been announced pending developments in the Mali Federation. The above six states belong to a customs union.

Other French Areas

Algeria—Officially regarded as part of Metropolitan France. All Algerians French citizens since 1947. In fall of 1959, President De Gaulle proposed eventual self-determination through popular vote. In January 1960 De Gaulle effected changes in Algerian administration that led to brief insurrection by French extremists. Algeria's status likely to change before end of 1960. Moslem rebel group (F.L.N.) seeks "unconditional independence."

Comoro Archipelago—Elected to remain an overseas territory in French Community. Embraces islands in channel between Madagascar and Mozambique.

French Somaliland—Elected to remain overseas territory within French Community.

Malagash Republic—Formerly island of Madagascar off coast of Mozambique. Proclaimed autonomous republic in French Community, October 14, 1958. Negotiations for full independence within the Community began in February, 1960.

Portuguese Areas

Angola—Portuguese overseas province. Largely untouched by current events in Africa.

Mozambique—Remains overseas province of Portugal. Status virtually untouched by trends of African

nationalism at present. Observers believe this condition will not last long.

Portuguese Guinea—An overseas province of Portugal, largely untouched by current movements in Africa.

Other Areas

Ifni—An enclave on Moroccan coast continues as a province of Spain.

Ruanda Urundi—Continues as UN trust territory under Belgian administration. Reforms introduced in both tiny kingdoms in 1959, leading toward establishment of constitutional monarchies.

Southwest Africa—Former German colony, mandated by League of

Nations to Union of South Africa. The Union refuses to recognize UN's responsibility for the territory, claims Southwest Africa as its own.

Spanish Guinea—Includes Rio Muni and Island of Fernando Poo near equator on west coast of Africa. Continues as Spanish province.

Spanish Sahara—Continues as province of Spain.

Per Capita Income—49 African Countries

Annual Average 1955-1957

<i>Population (Thousands) 1957</i>		<i>Population (Thousands) 1957</i>		<i>Population (Thousands) 1957</i>	
<i>Under \$100</i>					
Angola	4,355	French Somaliland	80	Portuguese Guinea	554
Basutoland	651	Dahomey	16,260	Ruanda Urundi	4,568
Bechuanaland	331	Ivory Coast		Sierra Leone	2,210
Belgian Congo	13,124	Mali Federation		Somalia	1,310
British Somaliland	552	Mauritania		Southwest Africa	524
British Cameroons	1,562	Niger		Spanish Guinea	212
Cameroun Republic	3,187	Voltaic Republic		Spanish Sahara	160
Ethiopia	12,200	Gambia	285	Sudan	10,700
Central African Republic	4,891	Guinea	2,630	Swaziland	237
Chad		Kenya	6,254	Tanganyika	8,760
Congo Republic		Liberia	1,320	Togo	1,093
Gabon		Mozambique	6,170	Uganda	5,680
		Nigeria	32,433		
<i>\$100-\$199</i>					
Comoro Archipelago	180	Ghana	4,763	Morocco	10,113
Egypt (UAR)	24,000	Ifni	25	Tunisia	3,813
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	7,450	Libya	1,210	Zanzibar	285
		Malagash Republic	4,905		
<i>\$200-\$299</i>			<i>\$300-\$399</i>		
Algeria	10,143			Union of South Africa	14,197

UNICEF in Africa

The Honorable Francis Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, has recently visited Africa where he observed the United Nations Children's Fund at work in several countries. In a letter to the editor of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* he wrote:

I have just returned from Africa where there is ample evidence of the benefits resulting from UNICEF-assisted projects. But only a start has been made. Among other things, a great deal needs to be done to counter the ravages of malaria, yaws, tuberculosis, and leprosy.

The assistance given by UNICEF in supplies and equipment and by the World Health Organization in training and technical personnel, is helping to build the basis for solid advance against these vast problems.

I have returned from this trip more than ever convinced that there is in Africa and in the whole underdeveloped arc of the globe a tremendous challenge. It is a challenge to the newly emerging countries to better the conditions of life of their peoples; and a challenge to the economically advanced countries to assist them in this effort.

Recent UNICEF Program Allocations (in U.S. Dollars) for Africa, South of the Sahara

	1957		1958		1959	
	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Basic Maternal and Child Welfare Services	533,000	43.1	322,500	17.6	589,000	30.4
Disease Control	731,500	56.9	1,457,200	79.4	1,245,500	64.4
Malaria campaigns	525,000	40.9	584,200	31.8	670,500	34.7
TB control					87,000	4.5
Yaws and VD control	124,000	9.6	449,000	24.5	204,000	10.5
Leprosy control	82,500	6.4	424,000	23.1	284,000	14.7
Nutrition			56,000	3.0	100,400	5.2
Child feeding			28,000	1.5	8,400	0.4
Milk and food processing			28,000	1.5		
Nutrition education and activities					92,000	4.8
Grand Total, Program Allocations	1,284,500	100.0	1,835,700	100.0	1,934,900	100.0

—UN Economic and Social Council, UN Children's Fund, Feb., 1960.

U.S. Economic Assistance to Africa 1948-1959

Countries	Millions of Dollars
Egypt	\$ 61.490
Ethiopia	32.800
Ghana	1.902
Liberia	14.419
Libya	71.184
Morocco	95.864
Somalia	4.137
Tunisia	46.330
French and British Areas of Influence	14.958
	<u>\$343.084*</u>

* An additional \$6.4 million has been provided to all of Africa in the last three years in the form of exchange of persons—students, technicians, advisers.

In the same period (1948-1959) the U.S.S.R. has provided economic assistance in the amount of \$496 million—\$343 million to Egypt, \$112 million to Ethiopia, and \$41 million to Guinea. (Less than 20 per cent of the figure for Egypt has been contracted for.)

The main aid to Africa comes from western Europe and the former colonial powers, and in 1956 alone that figure amounted to a billion dollars.

International Governmental Economic Assistance to Less Developed Countries 1957-1958

Contributing Country or Agency	Millions of U.S. Dollars	
	Grants	Loans
<i>Bilateral Aid</i>		
France*	\$ 526.9	\$ 227.5
United Kingdom	145.8	43.6
United States**	1,169.3	580.7
Other	119.0	55.9
Total Bilateral Aid	\$1,961.0	\$ 907.7
<i>Multilateral Aid</i>		
World Bank	\$	\$ 319.0
UN Technical Assistance	36.7	
Others	62.2	2.7
Total Multilateral Aid	\$ 98.9	\$ 321.7
<i>Grand Total</i>	<u>\$2,059.9</u>	<u>\$1,229.4</u>

* France's overseas economic assistance amounts to 2.7 per cent of national income, \$16 per capita of population.

** United States overseas economic assistance amounts to .75 per cent of national income, about \$10 per capita of population.

PROGRAM / POINTERS



→ Mission Study

The unmistakable evidences of social and political change in Africa discussed in this issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* should be of particular assistance to mission-study groups. Those currently studying Africa or preparing for the new emphasis—"Into All the World Together"—cannot overlook the failures and opportunities of churches at home and overseas to grapple with the central issues of society. Such developments as nationalism, for example, bring all forms of white domination under judgment, and make essential new ways of work.

The economic changes and political events stressed in *SOCIAL PROGRESS* are the underlying reasons for the coming study of the world mission enterprise. Our learning about specific mission projects is not enough. To understand the world mission Christians must understand the world and what God is doing in such human events as the emergence of new nations, the world-wide acceleration of technology, the population explosion, nuclear energy, the new need for economic development and world trade, UN's specialized efforts in eradicating disease, illiteracy, and hunger. To this end *SOCIAL PROGRESS* is a continuing resource.

As circle leaders and program chairmen of women's associations prepare for circle discussions and

lead in church-wide forums and family nights, copies of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* should be available.

→ 1,800 African Students

U.S. churches can have a significant part in African affairs by developing relationships with the 1,800 African students enrolled in American universities. Relatively few of the gifted young men and women preparing for future leadership in their countries' political and economic life have opportunities to know American families and institutions from the inside. Information about African students is available from our United Presbyterian Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, also from the African-American Institute, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

The purpose and program of the African-American Institute is to foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and Africa. This private, nonprofit American agency gives scholarship aid and counseling assistance to African students in the U.S. and assists in the exchange of leaders between the U.S. and Africa. The Institute also aids in placing U.S. teachers in African schools and colleges, and in furthering cultural exchanges. Its *Africa Special Report* is published monthly at the Washington headquarters,

1234 20th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. Subscriptions, \$1.00.

This monthly magazine contains fascinating news, political surveys, economic data, and social comment, and should be a welcome addition

to the libraries of local churches.

The editors of SOCIAL PROGRESS gratefully acknowledge permission from the African-American Institute to publish the following list of organizations interested in Africa:

American Academy of Political and Social Science—3937 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
American Assembly—Columbia University
American Association of University Women—1634 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
American Bible Society—450 Park Ave.
American Committee on Africa—8 West 40th St.
American Council on Education—1785 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C.
American Council of Learned Societies—2101 R St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
American Foundation for Tropical Medicine—345 Madison Ave.
American Friends Service Committee—20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
American Geographical Society—Broadway at 156th St.
American Society of African Culture—15 East 40th St.
American Universities Field Staff—522 Fifth Ave.
Association of International Relations Clubs—345 East 46th St.
Brookings Institution—722 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace—345 East 46th St.
Church Peace Union—170 East 46th St.
Council on Foreign Relations—58 East 68th St.
Ford Foundation—477 Madison Ave.
Foreign Policy Association—345 East 46th St.
Government Affairs Institute—1785 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C.
Greater New York Council for Foreign Students—500 Riverside Drive
Harmon Foundation—140 Nassau St.
Howard University, Division of African Studies—Washington, D. C.
Institute of Current World Affairs—522 Fifth Ave.
Institute of International Education—1 East 67th St.
Institute of World Affairs—522 Fifth Ave.
International House Association—500 Riverside Drive
International Planned Parenthood Federation—17 West 16th St.
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—20 West 40th St.
League of Women Voters—1026 Seventeenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Lincoln University, Division of African Studies—Lincoln University, Pa.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—20 West 40th St.
National Education Association—1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Phelps-Stokes Fund—101 Park Ave.
Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—1507 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Public Affairs Institute—312 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C.
Residential Seminars on World Affairs—University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rockefeller Brothers Fund—30 Rockefeller Plaza
Social Science Research Council—230 Park Ave.
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.—475 Riverside Drive
United States National Student Association—1307 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Woodrow Wilson Foundation—45 E. 65th St.
World Affairs Center for the U.S.—UN Plaza at 47th St.
World Brotherhood—43 W. 57th St.

The addresses unless otherwise indicated are New York City.

About Books

Diplomacy in a Changing World, edited by Stephen D. Kertesz and M. A. Fitzsimons. University of Notre Dame Press, 1959. 407 pp. with index. \$7.50.

Among the writers presented in this important and timely book are George F. Kennan, of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University; Hans J. Morgenthau, of the University of Chicago; William T. R. Fox, of Columbia University; Philip E. Mosley, of the Council on Foreign Relations; Sir David Kelly, of Great Britain; J. B. Duroselle, of the Center of International Studies in Paris; Edgar McInnis, of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs; Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Among the general issues discussed in the essays are the permanent values in the old diplomacy, morality and diplomacy, the role of the military, the role of international law, problems in decision-making.

Four of the essays deal with the behavior of the major powers—the U.S.S.R., the United States, Great Britain, and France. The appearance of new actors on the diplomatic scene is considered in five of the chapters on Canadian diplomacy, Indian diplomacy, German diplomacy, the Middle East, the role of the smaller states. The last three presentations have to do with the United Nations as a world forum.

The writers and editors focus on some of the tasks and resources of diplomacy in this exceedingly fluid world. This is by no means a complete treatment of the subject, nor does it aspire to be. The forthcoming volume of this series will be devoted to American diplomacy.

It should be noted that none of the writers, save the Secretary-General of the UN and Mr. Dixon, of the United Kingdom's delegation to the UN, is an official person.

Dr. Kertesz is a professor of political science at Notre Dame and Dr. Fitzsimons is professor of history at the same university. Both these men have written extensively and usefully on subjects dealing with foreign affairs. This is an important book, readable and authentic, which no person seeking to keep abreast of the times can afford to miss.

The Coming Political Breakthrough, by Chester Bowles. Harper & Brothers, 1959. 209 pp. \$3.75.

This book is intentionally and obviously a tract for our times. It is a discussion of some of the problems and issues that face the American people and American voters in a crucial election year.

The book represents one man's view of the urgent political and social questions of 1960, but he is a man whose views on this matter should be taken seriously. Mr.

Bowles believes that new questions with respect to our economy, our international relations, our approach to world affairs will come to a climax in the election of 1960. He has to believe that the party best able to provide a fresh and affirmative approach will not only elect the next president but will maintain political dominance for some time.

The author reviews the many forces and strains that have come together to form the American people. He underscores the great strength and creativeness of our economic system, but he stresses the need for adjustment that will enable us to expand our industrial capacity and output more rapidly. He discusses the American purpose and the American economy in the light of the world problems posed by the Cold War. He emphasizes, as we would expect of him, the importance of a fresh approach to the underdeveloped continents of the world.

In an exciting concluding section, Mr. Bowles discusses with utmost frankness the strengths and liabilities of our two political parties as they face the challenge of the dangerous years ahead. He writes as a Democrat, but his comments are offered with objectivity and balance.

Chester Bowles has a rich experience in both business and public affairs. During the last war he carried important national assignments. In 1946 and 1947 he served in various ways in the United Nations. In 1948 he was elected Governor of Connecticut, and during his term he instituted a far-reaching program of reforms. In 1951 he became ambassador to India and Nepal, where he served with distinction. Since leav-

ing Asia he has written five books on national and international affairs. In 1958 he was elected to Congress where he serves ably as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

We commend this book to ministers and others who would improve their understanding of the 1960 election issues.

Books About Africa

Attention should be directed first to two 1959 Friendship Press publications: *Africa Disturbed*, by Emory and Myrta Ross, and *The Way in Africa*, by George Carpenter. These splendid books are being widely used in connection with the current mission study on Africa.

An interesting book published in 1957 is *Drum*, by Anthony Sampson (Houghton Mifflin Company, 256 pp., \$3.50). Mr. Sampson is a young British journalist whose first job after Oxford was three years as the white editor of a Negro paper in Cape Town. Another useful book dealing with the problem of apartheid is *The Anatomy of South African Misery*, by C. W. de Kiewiet (Oxford University Press, 1956, 88 pp., \$1.75). A very recent book that needs to be read with careful discrimination is *The Death of Africa*, by Peter Ritner (The Macmillan Company, 1960, 312 pp. with index, \$4.95). Mr. Ritner is the associate editor of *Current*, a new review specializing in political and scientific matters.

There is a real scarcity of important and reliable new books about Africa. Things are happening so fast that anything published more than two or three years ago is out of date.



ECHOES

Dear Sir:

Your February issue reached the apex of good journalism and Christian compassion. After reading the symposium on racial intermarriage I only wanted to sing "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow." Slowly the church is beginning to understand that love is not to be seen through glasses that are black or white, but rather from the perspective of God's purity and holiness.

—*Walter K. Robie*
Van Nuys, California

Dear Sir:

I am convinced that the timing of this discussion [February issue] is poor. Down in the Deep South brave men of the cloth are presently battling for racial integration in the public schools. These men are often belittled and persecuted by their churches; and those who assail the clergy affirm that racial amalgamation is what their liberal leadership, consciously or unconsciously, would have them accept. All of that lies in the background.

When now a largely Northern church, at this stage of integration, either discusses or approves racial intermarriage, the South is inflamed and grows more determined to stop integration of any kind, even permitting equality in the public schools. To go too far and too fast on this

serious issue may arrest rather than assist the Negro's hope of education, and I suspect that a myriad of integrationists in the South agree with me.

Of course, I believe in racial integration for the public schools of America; indeed, I believe in the idea so strongly that I hate to see its progress slowed down by poorly timed comments concerning racial intermarriage.

My viewpoint was better stated by Paul in his Corinthian letter: "All things are lawful for me," but not all things are helpful [expedient]."

—*E. Marcellus Nesbitt*
Beaver, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

After reading the first answer to the question in the February SOCIAL PROGRESS, "Would you want your daughter . . . ?" I immediately gathered all the "time-consuming" toys with which to entertain my two small children and settled down to an hour of the most meaningful and exciting reading I've known in a long time.

Exciting? Yes, just to know that there are "almost" twelve people in the United States who are this well orientated to Christian parenthood; and meaningful because SOCIAL PROGRESS, through these articles, has given us such a very valuable resource. These articles clearly define the position of both marriage and parenthood to the Christian, who, through Jesus Christ, knows his only purpose in life to be that of glorifying God.

So as the toys are placed high on the shelves, and our children become

more deeply involved in this particular society to which they were born, this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS will be of tremendous value. When we try to make our children in our own image, or other people in whatever image we might fashion, this witness will serve as another reminder of our true identity.

—Diane Leslie Russell
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

May I congratulate you on your February issue and for having the initiative and beliefs necessary to deal with such a controversial issue. Unfortunately too many persons are fearful of approaching this topic due to possible public incriminations. Even more unfortunate is the fact that many churches feel this way also. Thus it is good to see that your church has the strength of its convictions to speak up.

—Judith Kleinschnitz
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Certainly the logic of the people writing in your February issue is impeccable but—it seems to me that this problem is almost completely divorced from logic. It is an emotional problem, and it seems to me that anything as bald as this symposium in advocating racial intermarriages will only make it more difficult to deal with the fearful and suspicious people of the South. I think it will make it harder to get ministers and elders to accept Negroes in worship services and at lunch counters and in social situa-

tions. In a hundred years this symposium may look prophetic, but right now it looks troublesome.

—Gordon L. Corbett
Lexington, Kentucky

(*Editor's Note:* The symposium did not "advocate" racial intermarriages. Some contributions opposed them on prudential grounds.)

Dear Sir:

I appreciated the February SOCIAL PROGRESS very much. It "went like hot cakes!" I have ordered twenty-five more.

—George Laurent
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Sir:

Your February issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS . . . presented a rare display of Christianity, humanity, and sanity. Congratulations.

Except for the interesting piece by Milton Mayer in the September, 1959, issue of *The Progressive*, yours is the first piece in a mass circulation medium that deals with the subject sensitively and without blushing all over its beautiful white pages. (This might give a new answer to the age-old question, "What is it that is black and white and red all over?")

—Hans Spiegel
Springfield, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

Some of us liberal Presbyterians have been getting intellectual claustrophobia—so bless you for the breath of fragrant air! [February issue]

—Mrs. W. F. Kennaugh
Delhi, New York

Dear Sir:

As a Christian pastor of strong conservative persuasion with a highly evangelistic bent, your magazine has done as much as many other influences to help me crystallize my thinking (though not solidify it, I hope) on social issues and to see the necessary connection between evangelism and social action.

—**Leonard H. Evans**
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

In a way, Jean Russell is right; we shouldn't be arguing about interracial marriage [February issue], but ignoring the question won't make it go away. When the community can see as clearly as Mr. Siciliano does, there will be no problem. Hence it appears that it is the community that must be redeemed.

But isn't the community already redeemed? Are we not already one body? This is not our action, but God's.

My vote for "best quote" goes to Roger Shinn [October, 1959] for his "new" question. It reminds me of the man who said, "Faubus is O.K., but I wouldn't want my sister to marry him."

—**Mrs. A. B. Beverstock**
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the recent copy of SOCIAL PROGRESS that deals with the subject of racial intermarriage. Perhaps you are familiar with a doctoral dissertation that was written at

Catholic University by Rev. Joseph Doherty about 1952 on *Moral Aspects of Interracial Marriages*. I wrote my M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations in sociology on the subject at Catholic University. I was very glad to get the view[s] expressed by the [authors]. Incidentally, I had a difficult time getting your address as I read about the article in *The New York Times*. Most Presbyterian churches here stressed that they are Southern Presbyterian and that your magazine must be published by Northern or Presbyterian U.S.A. I finally contacted someone who was able to tell me that Johnson C. Smith in Charlotte is Northern Presbyterian. The first secretary I talked to there was familiar with your magazine and able to give me the address.

—**Sister M. Annella, R.S.M.**
Sacred Heart Convent
Belmont, North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Your recent issue on racial intermarriage was for the most part a lot of sanctimonious blather. There is a wide chasm between talk about intermarriage and actual intermarriage.

Why didn't we have an article from a Presbyterian minister who has an interracial marriage in his congregation? Why no article from a Presbyterian who has such a marriage in his family? Why no article from someone who is contemplating or has consummated such a marriage?

Only in articles such as these would the true facts emerge.

—**John B. Danis**
Redondo Beach, California



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